

PARNELLISM AND CRIME.

REPRINTED FROM

The Times.

THIRD AND REVISED EDITION.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

LONDON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GEORGE EDWARD WRIGHT, AT
THE TIMES OFFICE, PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE.

1887.

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F5012
1887
P256

The EDITH *and* LORNE PIERCE
COLLECTION of CANADIANA



Queen's University at Kingston

PARNELLISM AND CRIME.

(LEADING ARTICLE, THE TIMES, MARCH 7, 1887.)

To-day we publish the first of a series of articles upon "Parnellism and Crime," the object of which is to remind the public of certain facts connected with the Home Rule agitation which are too often permitted to drop out of sight. The Parnellites get up such a show of honest indignation when the history of their movement is referred to, the Gladstonians are so anxious to draw a veil over the past alike of themselves and their allies, and the public are so ready to forget what it is most important to remember and so easily induced to accept the specious claptrap of Irish orators as a true and exhaustive statement of the case, that a plain recital of some of the undisputed and indisputable evidence of the last few years becomes probably one of the most useful of contributions to current controversy. There is a great deal of flabby sentimentalism among us at the present day, which takes the form of flat refusal to believe that anybody can be very bad. It does not spring from any noble or even respectable root, for it is accompanied by equally conspicuous incapacity to think anybody very good. It is merely a product of sheer dulness of imagination and bluntness of perception. People are carefully shielded in this

country from the machinations of the diabolically wicked, and the uneventful current of their daily lives does little to open up to them the possibilities of either good or evil in the human heart. Hence they sink into that lazy and stupid form of practical infidelity which holds all actions to be pretty much of one neutral tint, credits doers of bad deeds with good intentions, and to redress the balance readily ascribes shabby motives to the doers of good actions. From that moral hebetude MR. PARNELL and his allies have reaped immense advantages; in fact, they owe to it their very existence. In times not yet remote they would assuredly have been impeached for one tithe of their avowed defiance of the law, and in ages yet more robustly conscious of the difference between evil and good their heads would have decorated the City gates. Treason has often gone unpunished when its success was so rapid and complete as to give the traitors control of the Executive, but it has been reserved for this age to permit open, avowed, and defiant attacks upon the State to be carried on with impunity by a contemptible minority of a minority. It is in the hope of helping the public to shake off this flabby tolerance of evil and to see the Parnellite conspiracy in its true colours that we now repeat the well-authenticated statements with which every one has from time to time been made familiar, though few seem to appreciate their cumulative and abiding significance.

One of the most amazing phenomena of the day is the indifference with which a large section of the public look upon one of the most disgraceful spectacles that can be found in political history—the close and friendly relations now existing between the Parnellites and the men who as chiefs of HER MAJESTY'S Government investigated the operation of the Parnellite scheme and came to the deliberate conclusion that “its authentic doctrine is the doctrine of treason and assassination.” That is the judgment of SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT upon the organization which now furnishes his most trusty following in the House of Commons. MR. GLADSTONE declared that “with fatal and painful precision crime dogged the steps of the Land League.” Again, he pointed out that the League depends upon boycotting, and that the sanction of boycotting, “by which alone it can in the long run be made thoroughly effective, is murder.” Yet MR. GLADSTONE has slandered the Irish nation by assuming that the men who by such means have forced themselves into power are the true and accurate representatives of Irish wishes, and has definitely ranged himself upon the side of those who are nominated and elected by the League, the power of which rests upon boycotting, the sanction of which is murder. There are plenty of authentic utterances fixing upon prominent members of the Home Rule party the guilt of direct incitement to outrage and murder, just as there are declarations placing it beyond all doubt that

they are inspired by hatred of this country and by a determination "to destroy the last link that keeps Ireland bound to England." Nor is the turpitude of these incitements to crime in any degree reduced by the cold-blooded condemnation of murder sometimes resorted to by MR. PARNELL and others. When MR. BIGGAR says that it is no part of the duty of the League to recommend the shooting of landlords, and when MR. PARNELL points out that recourse to such measures is unnecessary where there is a suitable organization among the tenants, it is needless to say that they inflame rather than calm the evil passions of their hearers. What is the basis and sanction of the suitable organization except the murder, not of landlords, but of tenants, which MR. GLADSTONE found to lie at the back of boycotting? When MR. BIGGAR confines himself to not recommending the murder of landlords, is it in any degree wonderful to find outrage and murder varying in the direct ratio of the frequency of League meetings? But all these gentlemen might have been more discreet in their reported utterances without affecting the case in any way. It is not necessary to show that the leaders of the Home Rule movement have directly incited to crime. It is enough if it can be shown that the organization which gives them their power, which elects their nominees, and which pays their salaries, derives its power in turn from the systematic perpetration of crime. That, at any rate, is proved up to the hilt. There are volumes of evidence, and it is being added to

every day, to show that the whole organization of the Land League, and its successor the National League, depends upon a system of intimidation carried out by the most brutal means and resting ultimately upon the sanction of murder. The Irish Home Rule party glory in being the inventors of this organization, and openly base their appeals, whether of the wheedling or of the menacing kind, upon the knowledge that its power is at their disposal. These two facts are conclusive as to the nature of the incubus under which we permit ourselves and the loyal people of Ireland to lie. Quotations from the speeches of the Irish leaders clinch the argument, but they are in no way essential to its validity.

It may well be that at certain moments the murder of landlords and tenants is honestly discouraged by the League and the gentlemen who do its work in the House of Commons. For at certain moments it is desirable not to run the risk—though it is one which MR. PARNELL almost contemptuously disregards—of rousing the apathetic people of this country. The League, like other organizations, has to moderate the indiscreet zeal of its subordinates. At the present moment, for example, it is not good policy to alarm the diminished party that still adheres to MR. GLADSTONE. They want very much to believe that MR. PARNELL is the head of a constitutional agitation, that he is quite fit to be the head of a nation, and that he has no desire whatever for separation. These tasks must be made as easy for them

as possible, hence murder is verbally discouraged, and MR. PARNELL judiciously drops the inspiring language he is accustomed to address to his brother conspirators when dollars are required. But the real reason for any reduction that may take place in the number of outrages is that the work of intimidation is largely done. There is no need to shoot people who obey the League, and over a large part of Ireland they do obey the League to their own loss and ruin with a fidelity which nothing but the extremity of terror and despair can explain. The losses inflicted on landlords by the League are far smaller than the losses it inflicts upon tenants, just as the actual blood-tax it has levied upon the landlords is trifling compared with the number of tenants assassinated or maimed for life. Wherever the League has power the land is going out of cultivation and the whole machinery of industry is at a standstill. When land is out of cultivation for a year the loss is not merely the year's produce. It will take three years to get the soil back into its former condition. In order that the landlords' rent may not be paid the tenantry are being remorselessly plunged into ruin by the tyranny of the League. Merely that a certain number of gentlemen may masquerade as patriots and live upon the contributions of their credulous countrymen, the League is bringing about an economic crisis in Ireland which neither her own resources nor the power of this country will be fit to cope with unless effective measures are taken to stop the mischief at

once. Merely to have his revenge upon his countrymen for rejecting his advice, and to prove his declaration that all other business shall be made impossible to be no idle threat, Mr. GLADSTONE and his party are deliberately allying themselves with the paid agents of an organization whose ultimate aim is plunder and whose ultimate sanction is murder, to paralyze the House of Commons and to hand Ireland over to social and financial ruin.

A RETROSPECT: IRELAND.

(THE TIMES, MARCH 7, 1887.)

Mr. Parnell warned us in the debate on the Address that in Ireland our choice lies between the League and the Invincibles. There is no alternative. The Government must abdicate in favour of Mr. Parnell's despotic organization or confront "the dreadful existence of secret societies, with the revival of agrarian and political crime in its worst forms." No Coercion Act will quell the criminals. The Government "will not be able to stop murder." As a constitutional statesman Mr. Parnell does not rely on bare assertion; he "points his moral" by references to "ancient history," and enriches his argument with illustrations from the Land League agitation and the Invincible conspiracy. Under the first Coercion Act, he admonishes us, "a secret conspiracy grew up under the very nose of Mr. Forster, directed against Mr. Forster's own life, and similar conspiracies existed throughout Ireland against the lives of landlords and others. Then came the terrible tragedy in the Phoenix Park, and it was followed by the most stringent coercive enactment, both against political agitation and crime, ever passed against Ireland by England."

Even the Crimes Act, in Mr. Parnell's judgment, had "a very partial success." "Its administration was answered from America by dynamite and other attempts at assassination and conspiracy." "Dynamite," he reminds Londoners, "was repeatedly exploded in the crowded streets of your city; your public buildings were also threatened, and attempts were made to destroy them. Even in the House of Commons the Ministers of the day were not safe from violent attack and attempts to assassinate by the discharge of explosive bombs from the Strangers' Gallery. And after all these terrible events, after all this loss of life, some upon the scaffold, many more the victims of the wild justice of revenge," the Conservatives dropped the Crimes Act, while its authors and administrators strove to make the Land League the government of Ireland.

Mr. Parnell is the least impulsive of mankind, and doubtless made this calm, scientific analysis of his own agitation on a careful consideration of its political results. He affects to discuss with indifference the crimes which helped his rise, and hopes to convince the public of his innocence by dint of sheer effrontery. But the record is too recent and too full for the success of tactics so audacious. Mr. Parnell has gauged the nation by the chiefs of its late Government. The miraculous conversions among the Liberal Cabinet have for once misled his judgment. The error is not unnatural. His most ardent English adherent, the veteran who defers his *Nunc dimittis* only to see the "uncrowned king" come by statute into his kingdom, has repeatedly taxed that potentate with complicity in treason, murder, and rapine. He has assumed a connexion between Mr. Parnell's words and murder; he has held him up to reprobation as the grand foe of civil society, the apostle of

“ public plunder ; ” he has rebuked him for treating murderous outrage as a joke, declared his object to be the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire, and imprisoned him for subverting the authority of the law, and setting up a system of anarchical oppression in its stead. The pilot of the Crimes Act, the fiercest and the loudest assailant of the League, is a yet more recent convert, equally fervent and equally sincere. Not long since, Sir William Harcourt exposed the League’s intimate connexion with “ Communism in Paris and Fenianism in America,” and demonstrated its authentic doctrine to be “ the doctrine of treason and assassination.” Only 18 months back he was still convinced that “ the absolute separation of the two countries ” was the aim of his present allies. Lord Spencer himself follows suit, and unhesitatingly absolves the Irish leaders of participation in Irish crime. With such examples before him no wonder that Mr. Parnell’s faith in English credulity should be boundless ; no wonder that he could not resist the subtle pleasure of “ referring to ancient history ” and fighting his Land League battles over again “ under the very nose ” of his Liberal neophytes. Yet these men, when they charged him and his colleagues with treason, murder, and rapine, spoke in the plenitude of official knowledge. The League had been their special study. They had traced out its ramifications aboveground and underground. They were familiar with its doctrines and its methods. They knew who sat upon its central executive, who supplied its coffers, and to what purposes those supplies were devoted. They read the speeches of its chiefs ; they watched the progress of its organizers ; they noted the deeds that dogged its emissaries’ footsteps. From the reports of resident magistrates and police officers,

from the lips of the League's victims, from the observations of detectives at home and abroad, from the manifold sources of information open to the heads of the Government, they drew a sure inference concerning the crime they had to face. They deliberately judged that the murders and outrages rife throughout the south and west of Ireland were not "the wild justice of revenge," but the necessary sanctions of "the unwritten law" methodically enforced to vindicate the Land League code, and they published their judgment to the world. To-day they co-operate with the League organizers, and profess implicit faith in their past innocence, their future loyalty and moderation. When the politicians who know most of the inner working of his system took this attitude, Mr. Parnell naturally thought that others who had never seen with their own eyes his "devilish enginery" in operation must prove equally forgetful or equally confiding. Lord Hartington quickly showed him that all English statesmen do not possess the "flexibility of adaptation" distinctive of the Gladstonians. He took up the League leader's hardy challenge, and pertinently asked Mr. Parnell if he knew the past and present relations between his acknowledged agents and the miscreants who preach a war of murder against the Empire.

The history of those relations is well established. It is familiar to all who have studied Irish politics. It has been told in the Parnellites' presence by Gladstonian and Conservative Ministers in the House. It has been repeated orally and in writing, where no privilege of Parliament exists. It has never been seriously disputed by the Parnellites themselves. Now and then they have ventured on some quibbling denial of verbal accuracy, some

forced and uncandid misinterpretation, some dishonest imputation of motive, or blustering threat of prosecution. But they have never dared to submit their whole case to the public judgment, or to undergo the searching scrutiny of the Courts of law. They have been well advised, for their own speeches and their own newspapers confirm the blackest charges against them, and judicial investigation, as they know, might readily mature moral certitude into legal proof. It may be useful briefly to recapitulate those charges with the published evidence on which they rest and leave the "ancient history" entombed in the blood-stained annals of the League to point its own moral. We shall trace the main outlines of the movement, illustrate its principles and its working, prove that it is essentially a foreign conspiracy, and demonstrate that its chief authors have been, and are, in intimate, notorious, and continuous relations with avowed murderers. How intimate those relations have been—who counselled, who connived at, who condoned individual deeds of blood—is yet unknown. A confessed assassin—a high officer of the League—took the precaution to remove that body's books and papers when he fled. Those records of a "constitutional movement" have never been produced to show how the League's labours were divided between its organizers and officers and its Parliamentary chiefs. Some day the dark secrets of the League's councils may be disclosed. Fear, or greed, or private hate may yet raise up informers of higher rank and deeper knowledge than Town Councillor Carey to forge the last links in the evidence and do sudden justice on the criminals. Meanwhile, we shall re-state the case as it is known, and leave the public to judge the League

and its leaders on the cumulative evidence before them.

The Land League may claim "apostolic succession" from earlier conspiracies, as the National League derives its mission from the Land League. The new movement was appropriately started by Fenians out of Fenian funds. Its "father" is Michael Davitt, a convicted Fenian, whom Chief Justice Cockburn pronounced guilty of "some dark and villainous design" against human life. In August, 1879, Davitt negotiated a small loan from the Fenian war chest to start the "constitutional movement." Davitt's "personal friend," Patrick Ford, was the honest broker between the Fenian trustees and the Land League financier. That body held its first meeting in October, and Mr. Parnell was appointed president. (Interview between Davitt and Mr. Balch, special correspondent of the *New York Daily World*, in Cashman's "Life," pp. 218-19.) In December Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon sailed for America, and immediately communicated with Ford and the principal Fenian ex-convicts. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the speeches Mr. Parnell delivered on his tour. They were frankly treasonable. Their spirit may be divined from the celebrated passage in which the "constitutional leader" revealed his "ultimate goal." "None of us," he declared, "whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." Mr. Parnell found that sentence troublesome last May, and, not for the first time, disclaimed it as a calumny. Two days later, a correspondent confronted him in *The Times* with the special report published in the *Irish World* of March 6, 1880. Ford himself has since gently rebuked, and mag-

nanimously pardoned the moral cowardice of his leader's denial. (The *Irish World*, September 4, 1886.) But treason is not our main charge against Mr. Parnell and his friends. Treason, in these days of flabby tolerance, is leniently regarded as a political indiscretion, not as the deadly offence it is against the commonwealth. Rebellion is sin no longer in the eyes of Irish archbishops, or crime in the judgment of Radical statesmen. But no prelate has yet dared to bless the deeds which stand proved against the Land League ; no " misty philosopher " has numbed the natural horror of humanity for " the inevitable accidents " of the Irish revolution. Murder still startles the casuist and the doctrinaire, and we charge that the Land League chiefs based their movement on a scheme of assassination, carefully calculated and coolly applied. Be the " ultimate goal " of these men what it will, they are content to march towards it in company with murderers. Murderers provide their funds, murderers share their inmost counsels, murderers have gone forth from the League offices to set their bloody work afoot, and have presently returned to consult the " constitutional leaders " on the advancement of the cause.

The general election of 1880 suddenly interrupted Mr. Parnell's tour. He left his interests in America in the hands of Ford and the Fenians. Soon the organization in Ireland assumed its regular shape. The " executive committee " controlled the whole machinery, and among the most active members of that committee were Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, and, later, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Patrick Egan, Treasurer to the League, Mr. Thomas Brennan, Secretary to the League, Mr. Michael Boyton, " chief organizer " in Leinster, and Mr. P. J.

Sheridan, "chief organizer" in Connaught. We shall give a few well-known extracts from these high officials' speeches, and then summarize the natural consequences of their oratory. The quotations, with a single exception, are taken from the Government reports. All of them have been repeatedly published; they have been referred to in Parliament; they have never been discredited or disproved. On May 23, 1880, Mr. Brennan said, at Cardenstown, county Meath:—"France, when she was getting shut of her landlords, did not give them twenty years' compensation. No; she gave them twenty feet of a rope. (Cheers.) We are the followers of Stein; we want to accomplish a peaceful revolution." The next passage is from a speech made by the same speaker at Rosscahill, county Galway, in November. "When I advocate the programme of the Land League," he confessed, "and ask you to adopt it, I do injustice to my own feelings, for I believe the compensation most Irish landlords would be entitled to would be a prison or a rope (cheers), for having robbed or murdered the Irish people." We pass from the League Secretary, Mr. Brennan, to the "chief organizer in Leinster," Mr. Boyton. On March 5, 1881, this paid officer of the "constitutional movement" said:—"We have seen plenty of landlords and agents that deserve to be shot at any man's hands. I have always denounced the commission of outrages by night, but meet him in the broad daylight, and if you must blow out his brains blow them out in the daytime." Mr. Parnell, it is true, repudiated this passage on behalf of his agent. But Mr. Forster utterly rejected Mr. Boyton's word even when endorsed by his principal, and we have already seen reason to doubt the perfect fidelity of Mr. Parnell's

reminiscences. "There was a little story," observes the same speaker at Dunmanway, county Cork, in May, 1880, "told by Mr. Parnell, at a meeting in the Rotundo, at the conclusion of his address, to the effect that a certain American gentleman came upon the platform, and said, 'Parnell, there is 25 dollars, five for bread and 20 for lead.' Now that simple little bit of humour has put your hereditary enemy in a great flutter. . . . I am authorized to tell you here . . . that those 20 dollars are perfectly safe, and that . . . we are not going to tell Mr. Forster what we are going to do with the 20 dollars that has, since swelled into 20,000." On the 1st of August Mr. P. J. Sheridan, the "chief organizer in Connaught," urged the people to "assert their rights, and if they did not get them through their members of Parliament, he would ask them then to ring out their voices from the muzzles of Minié rifles."

These colleagues of Mr. Parnell's on the central executive were ably seconded by obscurer ruffians. A Mr. P. J. Gordon made many "sturdy speeches." At Shrile, county Galway, he said on June 20 :— "We have no intention of cutting the throats of our friends, but I don't care if half the throats of our enemies were cut before morning." He reprobated the practice of mutilating cattle, for "the cowardly fellow who would slaughter the sheep belonging to the landlord would not have the courage to slaughter the landlord himself," and he declared on another occasion that he had "had the pleasure of hearing that some great land-robber was murdered, or shot himself." (Caherlistrane, county Galway, September 5; Abbeyknockmoy, county Galway, October 3.) J. W. Nally, Malachi O'Sullivan, Muffeney, and other patriots and Leaguers were equally outspoken. On October 24 Mr. Matt

Harris, standing beside Mr. Parnell himself in Galway, declared that "if the tenant-farmers of Ireland shot down landlords as partridges are shot in the month of September, Matt Harris never would say one word against them." At the close of the meeting Mr. Harris craftily qualified this atrocious sentiment. But his "constitutional leader" does not seem to have rebuked or repudiated it upon the spot. He has since successfully recommended Mr. Harris to the electors of East Galway, as one of the "tried and trusted men" of whose qualities he and his colleagues "have had abundant experience for many years, and in whom they have every confidence." But on occasion Mr. Parnell can sternly discountenance "agrarian and political crime in its worst forms." In the autumn of this same year an undergraduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was murdered in broad day by the would-be murderers of his father. Mr. Parnell hastened to the scene of action, and "pointed the moral" in his accustomed pithy way. "I had wished to point out," he said, "that recourse to such measures of procedure is entirely unnecessary, and absolutely prejudicial, where there is a suitable organization among the tenants themselves." Mr. Biggar uttered several similar protests in October. "We do not recommend shootin' landlords," he said at Kinlough, county Leitrim. "That is an extreme measure, and certainly we cannot recommend it." "It is no part of the duty of the Land League," he explained at Castleisland, county Kerry, "to recommend the shooting of landlords for a great variety of reasons." The first of these denunciations of murder was delivered in the presence of Mr. Arthur O'Connor, M.P. Mr. Biggar made a third speech to the same purport at Bailieborough, county Cavan, in Mr. Sexton's company. Appa-

rently these members of the central executive thought Mr. Biggar's warnings against murder adequate, and deemed it superfluous to endorse them.

Strange to say, the exhortations of the paid officers and organizers of the "constitutional movement" proved more efficient than the admonitions of their Parliamentary chiefs. The fruits of the Land League eloquence are recorded in the terrible "outrage" Blue-book. They were, in the eloquent words of Mr. Arnold Forster, whose intimate and confidential relations with the late Chief Secretary gave him exceptional information on all that concerns this conspiracy, "three score cruel murders of men and women, with mutilations, burnings, robberies innumerable; more than 10,000 outrages committed in the short space of two years and a-half, concocted and perpetrated in the interests of a cruel and illegal tyranny." The published reports establish a perfect series of "concomitant variations" between the League meetings and the crimes. Where the meetings are frequent outrages abound; where there are few meetings outrages are rare. The inference is irresistible. In the memorable words of Mr. Gladstone, "it is not uncharitable or rash to assume a connexion between the words of the speaker (Mr. Parnell) and the acts which followed. With fatal and painful precision the steps of crime dogged the steps of the Land League." A year later the same authority insisted on "the strong presumption that behind these outrages there are influences higher than any that belong to those who commit them." (*The Times*, April 5, 1882.) The Land League, he argued in the following month (like the National League to-day), relied upon the "combined intimidation" of boycotting to enforce its decrees, and "the sanction of boycotting, that

which stands in the rear of boycotting, and by which alone boycotting can in the long run be made thoroughly effective, is the murder, which is not to be denounced."

A RETROSPECT : AMERICA.

(THE TIMES, MARCH 10, 1887.)

"The *Irish World*," wrote Michael Davitt on the 7th of October, 1885, "which, of course, means Patrick Ford, has almost always been 'a guide, philosopher, and friend' of mine since my liberation from Dartmoor; and if I have had to differ occasionally with some of its teachings and to criticize the wisdom of its plans for the freedom of Ireland, I have never for a moment doubted the unselfish patriotism which prompted such plans, or forgot the unparalleled services which you rendered to the Land League movement from its very inception until its organization—but not its spirit—was suppressed by the Government of England. Indeed, no truthful historian can write the record of that organization and its giant assault upon the citadel of felonious Irish landlordism without recognizing the fact that the chief inspiration of the movement, its spirit, and most of its financial strength came from the *Irish World*."—(*Irish World*, October 24, 1885.)

"I believe," the same authority added last May, "that three-fourths of the enormous sum of money received by the Land League from America was subscribed through the appeals which were made by Patrick Ford in his paper, through the instrumentality of the hundreds of branches of the auxiliary American League which was organized by the *Irish World*."—(*Freeman's Journal*, May 28, 1886.)

Treasurer Egan's receipts, regularly published in Ford's paper, corroborate Davitt's assertions, and they are confirmed under Mr. Parnell's own hand in his well-known telegram of January 26, 1881:—"Thanks to the *Irish World* and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause." In the largeness of his new-born charity, Mr. Gladstone bids us believe that the American subscriptions "in aid of the Irish cause" are contributed "only to carry on a public, legal, Parliamentary struggle." Before he had "found salvation" he had himself his qualms of doubt. Five years ago, he stated that "undoubtedly he would be very glad to be assured that the funds of the Land League were not available for the commission of the outrages." (*The Times*, April 5, 1882.) And certainly it is disturbing to find that the bulk of the money came through Patrick Ford.

But the relations between the Parnellites and Ford were never restricted to the sordid subject of finance. The *Irish World*, as Davitt's letter and Mr. Parnell's telegram imply, "co-operated" with the movement in many ways. The "father of the League," and its Secretary, Brennan, were regular contributors to Ford's columns. "By all means send the *Irish World* into Ireland. Its power for good is wonderful," said the former at St. Louis; while in January, 1881, Secretary Brennan, "in the name of the Land League," tendered "the sincere and most grateful acknowledgments" of that body to Ford's readers, and in March he adjured them to "relax not in their good work" of "spreading the light" in Ireland. We produce some few and faint reflections of the beneficent effulgence that emanates from this prime source of the subscriptions, for which Mr.

Gladstone demands our toleration and our gratitude. All parts of Ford's paper teem with praises of "the political agent called Dynamite." He "claims the merit for Ireland" of first resorting to this new mode of murder. He exults in the horrible assassinations of Irish landlords as "executions of land-thieves." He gloats over the prospect of wide-spread arson and devastation in our crowded English cities. Loud above the general chorus of infernal jubilation and blasphemous thanksgiving over the new instrument of havoc and of carnage rise the homicidal ravings of the maniac "Trans-Atlantic." "London," this wretch instructs his co-conspirators, "consisting of 4,000,000 of the wealthiest people in the world, is at the mercy of its criminal classes, who number a quarter of a million. . . . Make a note. Spread the light! O spread the light!" This letter is printed in the same column with one from the secretary of Mr. Parnell's "constitutional agitation." "Plenty of Kindling Wood in England" is the heading to another of "Trans-Atlantic's" murderous effusions. The "kindling wood" in question, ready "to set the whole working population in a blaze," consists of "the farm labourers, the miners, the factory hands, the million of paupers, 186,000 imprisoned English criminals, the half-million of uncaught criminals in England," and so on. The same writer, in a ferocious attack on the late Mr. P. J. Smyth, says:—"As to getting Irishwomen to fling out vitriol upon the ruffianly soldiery whom English felony may send over to Ireland, as John Mitchell taught Mr. Smyth soon after his college-days; tut, tut, the Mr. Smyth of to-day is not that kind of patriot at all." This villainous passage appeared in the *Irish World* a few weeks before Mr. Parnell personally thanked that journal

and its readers for "their constant co-operation." The inhuman miscreant who wrote it was the first subscriber to the "constitutional" exchequer. We have the fact on unimpeachable authority. "Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P.," says Ford in his issue of September 15, 1833, "sitting with us in the private office of the *Irish World*, Brooklyn, the night before he sailed for Ireland, informed us that Mr. Parnell told him the *first subscription* that was ever paid into the organization was from 'Trans-Atlantic.' There was," adds the dynamite apostle, "a fitness in this." Let us resume the history of the "public, legal, Parliamentary struggle" to the time when one of the most moderate and respected of the "Constitutionalists" sat chatting confidentially with Ford in the private office of the *Irish World*.

In the autumn of 1831 a Parnellite Convention in Dublin "decreed" that "either the Land Act should be used as a weapon in the war or it should not be used at all." (*United Ireland*, September 24, 1831.) Thereupon Mr. Gladstone's Government proclaimed the League and imprisoned its leaders. The "No-Rent" manifesto was their answer. Treasurer Egan telegraphed to Ford for support, and Ford toiled as men toil when their hearts are in their work. Mr. Parnell was liberated on parole on April 10, 1832, to attend his nephew's funeral in Paris. He was late for the funeral, but he passed several days in Paris and in London. Messrs. Egan, Sexton, and Healy happened to be in the French capital, while Mr. Justin M'Carthy, the Chairman, and Mr. Frank Byrne, the General Secretary of the League in this country* (under its then *alias* of "The National Land and

*See Note A, page 35—The British League and its Officers.

Labour League of Great Britain"), went out to meet the Irish mail at Willesden the evening of their leader's release. Mr. Frank Byrne, indeed, "was the first to enter the compartment and greet Mr. Parnell, whom he warmly shook by the hand. That gentleman appeared delighted at seeing him, and expressing (*sic*) his satisfaction at meeting him." (*Freeman's Journal*, April 11, 1882.) But Mr. Parnell had the inexpressible mortification of informing his friends in both cities that his parole bound him to refrain from politics. His honour, indeed, was the sole obstacle to the most exhaustive discussion of all pending transactions between the confederates. The heads of Mr. Parnell's several organizations were at hand. They had many vital secrets on their minds. They had every facility for private conference with their chief. All of them were not distinguished by a chivalrous regard for truth. But on the 24th Mr. Parnell returned to Kilmainham, his pledge, we are assured, inviolate, in letter and in spirit. He had his reward. He was definitively released on May 2, and hastened to London with his liberated lieutenants. On Saturday, May 6, he escorted Michael Davitt from Portland Prison to town. At Vauxhall the chiefs were met by Mr. Frank Byrne and other favoured disciples. The same evening Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Burke were stabbed with amputating knives in the Phoenix Park. The knives were brought to Dublin for the purpose by a woman, whom one of the principal assassins believed to be Frank Byrne's wife. The shock to the public conscience was tremendous. On the Sunday Davitt drew up a manifesto recording his own horror and that of his co-signatories, Messrs. Parnell and

Dillon, at the deed. The same day Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P., spoke at Manchester. He, too, condemned the Chief Secretary's murder. But it is a point of high significance, noted at the time, that at this meeting "no reference whatever was made to the murder of Mr. Burke." (*The Times*, May 8, 1882.) Not less curious is the prescience which enabled Mr. Parnell to assure a representative of the *France* that "the crime was neither organized nor executed by the Fenians . . . but by assassins who may, I think, be members of some association much more extreme." (*The Times*, May 16, 1882.) *United Ireland* published an ostentatious mourning card "in token of abhorrence and shame," but the Parnellite organ objected to a proposal to commemorate the murders by a monument, and "protested utterly against our country being dragged through a prolonged penitential course of self-abasement in order to clear ourselves of guilt of which nobody dares to suspect us." On the 10th Mr. Patrick Egan sent two telegrams from Paris. The one gave Ford his cue about the murders and thanked him for a heavy subsidy; the other scouted a suggestion in the *Dublin Freeman* that the League should offer a reward for the assassins' arrest, and declared the writer's "determination that if one penny of the Land League Fund were voted for such a purpose he would at once resign the treasurership." (*Irish World*, May 20, 1882.) Egan's vehemence was not unnatural. Two years later it was sworn at Sligo that, "before the political prisoners were released, Pat Egan and Thomas Brennan urged that the only way to get them out was to use violence on the Government officials—that 'talk' would never get them out."

(*Irish Times*, May 26, 1884.) Ford meanwhile followed his accomplice's friendly lead, and "in his own name, and on behalf of one thousand branches of the Land League in the United States whom he represents," joins Parnell and Davitt in repudiating the crime, and charitably suggests that it was the work of desperate landlords. (*Irish World*, May 20, 1882.) On the previous Friday, May 19, an indignation meeting was held in New York. But the lying farce fell through. An amendment was moved by Major Horgan, spoken to by Dr. Wallace, and adopted. It ran:—"While it may be deemed a matter of expediency to express regret for the slaying of Cavendish and Burke, we, the Irish exiles," &c. (*Irish World*, May 27, 1882.)

Meanwhile all England had been startled by the detection of the "Kilmainham Treaty." The disclosures of Mr. Forster, Mr. Parnell, and Captain O'Shea came to this—that the "suspects" had been released on a conditional undertaking to support the law, and that Mr. Parnell had offered Mr. Gladstone their political services. Captain O'Shea told Mr. Forster how the "constitutional organization" would be adapted to prevent crime. "The conspiracy (or organization)," he said, "which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages, will now be used to put them down." He added that "Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person and get him back from abroad, as he knew all the details (of conspiracy or agitation) in the West." That person's name was P. J. Sheridan, Mr. Parnell's sometime colleague on the Central League. He was at this period in disguise, "coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outrage-mongers in the West." Four days later (May 19) Captain O'Shea explained, in a letter to *The Times*,

that his principal's offer was not limited to Sheridan. It applied to Davitt, Egan, and Boyton as well. Sir William Harcourt introduced the Crimes Bill on May 11. Mr. Dillon promptly threatened a repetition of the Park murders. In spite of this characteristic menace, and of unparalleled obstruction, the Crimes Act became law on July 12. The effect was immediate. The number of agrarian crimes had risen steadily throughout the "constitutional agitation." They were 870 for the whole twelve months of 1879. For the half-year ending June, 1882, they had reached 2,597. They fell to 836 in the first half-year of the Crimes Act—the statute which Mr. Parnell considers a "very partial success." The result was not, indeed, obtained without some sacrifices. In the autumn of 1882 the Irish Executive, under Lord Spencer's personal encouragement, the Irish Judges, and the Irish special jurors fearlessly discharged their duties. They naturally incurred the implacable hatred of the perpetrators and the abettors of outrage. *United Ireland*, Mr. Parnell's official organ, owned, written, edited, and distributed by his colleagues, denounced "the Bloody Assize" with the most ferocious rhetoric at its command. The trials "were grotesque mockeries," the juries were "shamefully concocted," the evidence "was evidence upon which an English jury would not hang a dog." The Judge displayed "indecent longing for a conviction," his charge was "a speech for the prosecution," he exhibited "the brutal nonchalance of a Jeffreys," and the whole proceedings were "infamous." The harangues of this mouth-piece of a "constitutional movement" were followed by their natural result. Mr. Field, a juror, whom they had marked down by name, was stabbed a few weeks later in the streets of Dublin; the life of Judge Lawson, whom they

inveighed against, was attempted within two months.

Once the law had been vindicated, the murderers lost heart. Early in the new year (1883) it was rumoured that the Crown had valuable information. A sudden swoop was made by the police. A man named Farrell turned Queen's evidence. Criminals more guilty and deeper in the conspiracy grew uneasy for their necks. Among the prisoners was James Carey, who had been just elected a town councillor for Dublin on the recommendation of Mr. William O'Brien, as a candidate "untrammelled with Castle influence." This man was suddenly transferred from the dock to the witness table. He appalled the civilized world with the mysteries of iniquity he in part revealed. Carey swore that he had been a Fenian, and that Thomas Brennan, secretary to Mr. Parnell's "constitutional organization," had previously filled that same office in the ranks of the Fenian Brotherhood. He swore that in November, 1881, a "Mr. Walsh," from the North of England, came over to establish "a society that would make history." This society was called "The Irish Invincibles;" its object was "to remove all tyrants from the country," and the Park murders and the murderous attacks on Mr. Justice Lawson and Mr. Field were its work. Carey swore that Walsh introduced him to P. J. Sheridan, then disguised as "the Rev. Father Murphy;" that Sheridan (the "chief organizer" of the "constitutional agitation" in Connaught) stated he "had been in the country to extend the branches of the Invincibles;" and that on another occasion this colleague and paid officer of Mr. Parnell undertook to see to the despatch of arms to the murderers from London. He swore, further, that he knew Frank Byrne (secretary to the "con-

stitutional organization " in Great Britain), that Frank Byrne was a Fenian, and that a woman, whom he believed to be Mrs. Frank Byrne, brought the knives to Dublin with which the Park murders were done. The whole devilish machinery was controlled by a nameless agent, known to his subordinates as "No. 1." He gave Carey £80, and told him that "if they required £1,000 they should have it." The murderers were divided in opinion as to the source of this wealth. Carey suggested America; some of the others said, "Perhaps we are getting some of this from the Land League." As Mr. Parnell had told the *France* reporter, the "Invincibles" were "totally outside" the Fenian Brotherhood.

But Carey's revelations were not the first evidence directly confirming the universal conviction that the Parnellites controlled "the throttle-valve of crime." So long before as January, 1882, Daniel Connell, "Captain," or rather "Lieutenant," "Moonlight," swore at Cork that "he was offered a Parnell medal for bravery," and that the "Captain got a medal." The feats for which these badges were awarded are described in the famous "regimental order" dated "30-12-81," and "signed and confirmed" by "Captain Moonlight." The paper, which was produced and sworn to, runs as follows:—"Thomas Sullivan to be shot in the legs; the mother and daughter's hair to be clipped for dealing with Hegarty, of Millstreet; and John Lehane, for story-telling to Father Twomey, to be clipped also. John Murphy to be shot in the legs for paying his rent." Once Carey had spoken, panic filled the dastardly crew of "village ruffians," and the Crown found plenty of witnesses. In March a second gang of murderous conspirators, known as the "Patriotic Brotherhood," were tried at the

Antrim Assizes. It was proved that P. J. Sheridan, "our great organizer in Mayo," as the chief local assassin styled him, had taken a principal part in forming this association—an association, said Mr. Justice Lawson, "avowedly established for the purpose of committing murder." Not only was this murder club organized by one of Mr. Parnell's official "chief organizers," but its victims were selected by Mr. Parnell's organization. The Brotherhood kept regular books. "Under date May 24, 1882," the Judge noted in his charge, "there was the entry:—'At the request of the Land League, conveyed through Thomas Murphy, men have been sworn in specially to kill Mr. Brooke.'" Similar evidence, directly connecting the "constitutional organization" with local "Vigilance" and "Invincible" murder committees, was given at Ennis and at Sligo.

The chiefs of the League denied the statements of the informers, and particularly Carey's, with every semblance of outraged innocence and righteous anger. But they could not afford to estrange their principal subscribers by any harsh public reprobation of the deeds of earnest friends. After Carey's evidence the Irish members met. Mr. Parnell was in the chair. Mr. Justin M'Carthy, "as chairman of the confederation of which Mr. Frank Byrne was secretary, felt that some steps should be taken," and "suggested that a resolution should be passed." "This proposal, however, was not approved, and the meeting passed on to other business." (*The Times*, February 20, 1883.) Meanwhile the police arrested two women at Frank Byrne's house. Unluckily only one of them was taken to Dublin, and Carey failed to recognize her as the woman who had smuggled the knives. The Leaguers loudly proclaimed him a detected perjurer, but we shall

hereafter see good reason to suppose that his original belief as to Mrs. Frank Byrne's close connexion with "the victory in the Phoenix Park" was not far wrong. The situation, however, to borrow Mr. Parnell's classic phrase, was growing "very hot indeed" under the Crimes Act, and a general exodus of patriots ensued. Sheridan, that "noble and fearless son of Ireland," as Ford called him, was already serving the cause in the snug security of the *Irish World* office. Treasurer Egan absconded on March 1. The police found letters from him in Carey's house, dated at the time when the "Invincibles" were first organized. By the middle of the month he was safe in New York, and when a portion of the Local Government Board Offices was blown up with dynamite on the 15th, the American journalists immediately turned to Mr. Egan for information. Mr. Parnell's treasurer and intimate associate was asked whether "he supposed Land League funds paid for this outrage." "A general laugh went around the group," says Ford, and Mr. Egan discreetly declined "to say or think anything about the matter at all." (*Irish World*, March 31, 1883.) Frank Byrne and his wife reached New York on April 4. The exiles were received by "their fellow-celebrity, P. J. Sheridan, and the meeting formed a pleasant picture indeed." Byrne denied all knowledge of the murders. John Walsh followed a fortnight later. He was met by "his old friends, Mr. Frank Byrne and Mr. P. J. Sheridan." Their hearty welcome "made him almost feel like old times again." Ford tells us that Walsh was a friend of Davitt's and a Fenian, and that he organized "more than half" the branches of the "constitutional association," of which Mr. Justin

M'Carthy was chairman and Mr. Frank Byrne secretary. (*Irish World*, April 28, 1883.) About the same time Mr. M. P. Boyton, Mr. Parnell's "chief organizer in Leinster," thought it prudent to join Mr. Sheridan, the "chief organizer in Connaught." On landing he hastened to attend a murder-convention then in session. (*Irish World*, May 12, 1883.) Next came the League secretary, Thomas Brennan. He escaped to the Continent after Carey's revelations, and reached America from Palermo on May 3. He "dropped in immediately to the *Irish World* office, from there going at once with Mr. Ford to his residence, where, surrounded by Messrs. Egan, Sheridan, Byrne, and other friends, he spent the evening." He was duly "interviewed" for the assassination journal. He declined to tell the public whether he was a Fenian, as Carey had sworn, or not, but he admitted that he "had known the men in the dock (for the Phoenix Park murders), and there were many sincere Nationalists among them." (*Irish World*, May 5, 1883.) Last came Mr. Parnell's "tried and trusted" supporter, Mr. Matt Harris, M.P. He landed "very unexpectedly" in June; "called (of course) at the *Irish World* office, and was cordially greeted by many friends there." The same mail brought the news that an informer had come forward with evidence about a murder conspiracy in Mayo.

In the sympathetic atmosphere of New York the more fiery of the patriots grew less reticent, once their fears of extradition were dispelled. When Mr. Harris, M.P., visited Ford, that eminent publicist had quite lost his horror of "what some people choose to call the Phoenix Park murders." He no longer thought "the taking-off of Cavendish" a crime, or charged it

against the landlords. "From an Irish standpoint," he explained, it "was an *execution*, not a murder." (*Irish World*, June 23, 1883.) "As an incentive to other men to dare and do likewise for Ireland," a "Martyrs' Fund" was opened on the suggestion of Mr. Parnell's sagacious treasurer and colleague, Patrick Egan. This patriotic charity was rigidly restricted to the families of such of the convicted assassins as should neither plead guilty nor confess their crime. The relatives of Caffrey, who "apologized for what he did and tried to explain it away," were accordingly excluded from its benefits by the lady distributors, Miss Ellen Ford and Miss M. Doherty. (*Irish World*, Nov. 10, 1883.) On July 2 a "Martyrs' Meeting" was held in support of the fund. Mr. P. J. Sheridan was chairman. Mr. Frank Byrne and Mr. John Walsh spoke. All these high officials of the "constitutional agitation" publicly justified the Phoenix Park murders, and paid "homage and honour" to the murderers. Walsh, the organizer of 160 "constitutional" branches in Great Britain, gloried in the deed of the "few brave men" who "struck dead the chief of the Irish banditti." Byrne, Mr. Justin M'Carthy's immediate subordinate, Mr. T. P. O'Connor's predecessor in an office of dignity and trust, laid bare the pith and marrow of League doctrine in a few trenchant words. "I am not," he said, "fastidious as to the methods by which the cause of liberty may be advanced. (Applause.) I do not say you should alone use dynamite, or the knife, or the rifle, or Parliamentary agitation; but I hold no Irishman true who won't use all and each method as the opportunity presents itself." By the efforts of Mr. Parnell's colleagues and subalterns in the "constitutional move-

ment," this gang of male and female murderers resolved that "any person entering Ireland officially commissioned by England to any administrative office, enters at his peril; and any Irishman accepting any administrative office from England in Ireland is a traitor to his country and race, and should be dealt with accordingly." A further resolution commended resort to "every weapon which nature and science have furnished," and the proceedings fitly ended in an ovation to a professor of dynamite, named Mezzerooff. (*Irish World*, July 14, 1883.)

The good work was not confined to a single city. Chicago emulated the charity of New York. Finerty and Rossa vied with the frank patriotism of Sheridan. They, too, held their "Martyrs' Meeting." They, too, recorded their admiration of the murderers, their approbation of every means of injuring this country. While Mr. Frank Byrne expounded the joint use of dynamite, knives, bullets, and Parliamentary agitation against England at Cooper Union, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, O'Donovan Rossa, and Finerty headed the demonstration at Turner-hall. The latter had recently expressed his sorrow that the London explosions were not more successful. He now threw this strong side-light on the murders in the Phoenix Park. "As regards Cavendish," he said, "it (the murder) was not premeditated; as regarded Burke, they said nothing." "He (Lord Frederick Cavendish) died because he was in bad company—was with Thomas H. Burke, the Fouché (*sic*) of Ireland." The day after the murders, Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P., deplored, as we have seen, the Chief Secretary's end. He, too, "said

nothing as regarded Burke." Mr. Finerty ended his speech with "a piece of good news." The "good news" was Mr. T. M. Healy's return for Monaghan. (*Irish World*, July 21, 1883.) At the end of the month Patrick O'Donnell shot James Carey, the informer, dead on board the *Melrose* off Port Elizabeth. O'Donnell was at once admitted to the benefits of the "Martyrs' Fund," and a large additional subscription was raised by Ford for his defence.

We have laid bare some of the ligaments that knit the so-called "constitutional movement" in the United Kingdom to its fellow conspiracy in the United States. In a third article we shall show that that conspiracy has always been controlled, and is now controlled, by notorious dynamiters and assassins, that its relations to Mr. Parnell's agitation have been continuous, and that at this moment they are as intimate and as vital to the prosperity of "the cause" as when the Parliamentary leader in person sought and gained the patronage of Patrick Ford and the good graces of the American Fenians.

NOTE A.—THE BRITISH LEAGUE AND ITS OFFICERS.
—*United Ireland* states that Mr. O'Donnell, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Quinn, the present member for Kilkenny, also joined Mr. Parnell at Willesden.
—(*United Ireland*, April 15th, 1882.)—Mr. Quinn was at this time Treasurer of the British League. Some further particulars as to the constitution and officers of this body may prove useful. The League was reorganized in the autumn of 1882. Its central offices were in Palace-chambers, Westminster. The Central Executive met in the second week of September. The following officers were elected:—President. Mr.

Justin M'Carthy ; Vice-President, Mr. Biggar ; Honorary Treasurers, Messrs. J. E. Redmond and Thomas Quinn ; Honorary Secretaries, Messrs. T. P. O'Connor and Justin H. M'Carthy. Messrs. J. H. M'Carthy and Thomas Quinn were " co-opted " as members of the Central Executive at this meeting.—(*United Ireland*, Sept. 16th, 1882.) The General Secretary, Mr. F. Byrne, was subsequently charged with " packing the Executive to suit purposes of his own," under the co-optation clause. The Executive, however, declared the charge unfounded, and on the motion of Mr. O'Donnell, seconded by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, " expressed their fullest confidence in the capacity, energy, and honesty of their General Secretary, Mr. F. Byrne."—(*United Ireland*, October 14th, 1882.) Mr. Byrne's fellow-workers gave him their moral support to the last. When his extradition for complicity in the Park murders was demanded, the British League resolved :—" That we feel bound to declare to our knowledge that that gentleman has been engaged in lawful and constitutional agitation in connexion with the Irish Home Rule Confederation, Land League of Great Britain, Land and Labour League, and National League of Great Britain for the past eleven years, and has always conducted himself in a manner which won the esteem of the most distinguished members of Parliament and leaders of the Irish people. . . . That Mr. Frank Byrne has been constantly employed in constitutional agitation in Great Britain on behalf of the Irish cause ; that in such capacity he has frequently directed the Irish vote at Parliamentary elections, and that quite recently Mr. Byrne directed the vote of the electors of Wigan on behalf of the candidate of that English Liberal Ministry which now seeks his extradition. . . .

That we declare that down to the last Mr. F. Byrne has continued to maintain a most legal and constitutional attitude in every respect, and we express our complete confidence in Mr. Byrne's ability to refute every charge if he receives just and fair treatment. . . .”—(*United Ireland*, March 10th, 1883.)

A STUDY IN CONTEMPORARY CONSPIRACY.

(THE TIMES, MARCH 14, 1887.)

We have seen how Mr. Parnell's "constitutional organization" was planned by Fenian brains, founded on a Fenian loan, and reared by Fenian hands; how the infernal fabric "rose like an exhalation" to the sound of murderous oratory; how assassins guarded it about, and enforced the high decrees of the secret conclave within by the bullet and the knife. Of that conclave to-day, three members sit in the Imperial Parliament, four are fugitives from the law; against one a true bill for murder stands recorded; all the exiles consort with professed assassins since their flight. It remains to show that the "distinguished representatives" at home have continuously maintained their relations with the murderers who fled and the murderers who harbour them.

In Parliament and before English audiences Mr. Parnell and his lieutenants have repeatedly denied their American accomplices. They ignore the secret history of the Central Executive. The memories of Brennan, Egan, Sheridan, and Boyton

are cherished in silence. They never mention John Walsh, their chief organizer, or Frank Byrne, their secretary. The feats of these heroes in "the campaign" are shrouded in oblivion. But Ford and Finerty they discuss with the assurance of calumniated innocence. Ford, indeed, did at one time give them some little help. His services, however, were trifling; his paper was "merely used as a medium for subscriptions," and the Parnellites would have got the money "all the same if the *Irish World* had never existed." So said that eminent constitutional politician Mr. Timothy Healy as he debated "the better government of Ireland" last May. He went further. He declared that "the *Irish World* had never ceased to attack them;" that "it had been their persistent enemy;" that it "had been denounced by eight Bishops in 1880;" and that "the National League had never received any subscriptions from the *Irish World*." On two several occasions during these debates Mr. Parnell himself disclaimed all connexion with Ford. "He has been constantly denouncing myself and my policy during these five years," he said on the 8th of April. "The terrible *Irish World* has not been on my side for the last five or six years," he repeated on June 7. When Sir George Trevelyan quoted Finerty, the "constitutional leader" was content to crush his traducer by quietly asking if he knew that Finerty was a dynamiter. The accident that Mr. Parnell repudiated his famous "last link" speech in the same breath subsequently marred this dignified rebuke.

The facts about Ford's temporary quarrel with Mr. Parnell are plain enough. Ford, who was out of gaol himself, altogether disapproved of the treaty which procured his colleagues' liberation in May, 1882. He had liberally subsidized a "conspiracy

for getting up boycotting and outrages." He objected to see that conspiracy "used to put them down." The funds, as he truly maintained, were raised for no such purpose. The Parliamentary leader's proposal involved a clear breach of trust—a fraud upon Mr. Ford and his co-contributors. A second breach of trust equally flagrant was disclosed in the autumn of the same year. A fundamental article of the constitution of the conspiracy, embodied in an express resolution, declared that none of its moneys should be used "for furthering the interests of any Parliamentary candidate." The fund was subscribed on this explicit condition. On October 21, 1882, Mr. Parnell admitted that part of the League treasure had been spent in electioneering. Ford commented on "the strange and disappointing revelation" on November 4, and Treasurer Egan explained the malversation as best he could three weeks later. From this time forward Ford continued to disavow any belief in "Parliamentarianism," while declaring, however, that "it was far from his desire to utter a single word calculated to wound the feelings or reflect on the honour of the gentlemen who composed the Parliamentary party." (*Irish World*, December 30, 1882.) The estrangement, indeed, in spite of a good deal of vigorous abuse, was at no time very bitter or complete. On November 14*, 1882, while the controversy was still fresh and hot, Mr. Redmond was entertained to a complimentary supper and "interesting reminiscences" by a company of "advanced" patriots, which included Mr. A. E. Ford and Mr. P. J. Sheridan, both of the *Irish World*. (*Irish World*, November 18, 1882.)

* This is the date given by the *Irish World*. From a letter of Mr. Redmond's, however, it appears that the supper took place on the 7th, and not upon the 14th Nov.

Next spring, as we have seen, the flower of the Land League executive in Ireland and in Britain came flocking across the sea, and one by one as the unclean brood alighted they "homed" in the office of the *Irish World*. They were quite happy there, and "almost felt like old times again" in company so congenial. Ford at this date was busy with plans for "laying London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other cities in ashes." Mr. Parnell himself, who never reads even the subscription lists on which his movement depends, casually learnt that his late patron's unquenchable patriotism had found another object, and grimly taunted the Government on "the very different purpose" of the new collection from the old. (*The Times*, February 24, 1883.) Five months later the same issue of the *Irish World* reports the Chicago "Martyrs' meeting," and acknowledges \$150 for "the Parnell testimonial." (*Irish World*, July 21, 1883.) Finerty himself, it will be remembered, thought Mr. Healy's return for Monaghan a "bit of good news" for a gathering that had just endorsed the Phoenix Park murders and a fresh anti-English campaign of arson and explosives. Ford in his next number announces the election of "our friend Mr. William Redmond" for Wexford. True, he thinks the step ill-advised, and states that "Mr. Redmond is not a Parliamentarian at heart." But he allows that the honourable gentleman acted "with the best intentions," and on "the advice of friends, also well-meaning." There is no great malice plainly in such a quarrel. Ford differs from his colleagues' new policy, and cannot but condemn their lax dealings with the funds he raised. But he is tender of their honour and their feelings, he confesses the excellence of their intentions, he has an asylum for their refugees and a hearty welcome

for their emissaries. He even receives tribute for their erring chief.

Under such conditions and between such men no real misunderstanding could endure. The disagreement has long been reconciled, and Mr. Parnell's and Mr. Healy's late denials of Ford's services are characteristic samples of Parnellite opportunism. Mr. Healy's effrontery and ingratitude towards his hospitable entertainer of November, 1881, provoked the anger of Michael Davitt. The "father of the Land League" promptly and flatly contradicted the member for South Londonderry. "It is not correct," he wrote in the *Freeman's Journal* of May 28, "to say 'For years and years the *Irish World* had not ceased to attack us, because it has been our most persistent enemy.' " Ford, Davitt declares, has abandoned the dynamite propaganda, and "has largely aided the National League of America by the powerful advocacy of his great paper, as well as by stimulating the subscriptions of Irish-Americans to the funds of that League." The statement that Ford has abandoned the dynamite propaganda is false. The statement that he has done yeoman's service to the new League, as to the old, is perfectly true. He himself enumerates his long and arduous labours in building up the Parnellite movement in an article published on the 4th of last September. He specially insists upon his recent services to the Parliamentary Fund. He "subscribed to that fund out of his own private purse," he "published the reports and manifestoes of its officers," he cheerfully forwarded many heavy contributions to the Reverend Treasurer; he "enlisted" and "called out" American sympathy; he started the Home Rule mass-meetings, and elicited and published in

his murderous print some 200 Home Rule letters from American politicians with an eye to the Irish vote.

Even at the height of the money squabble, the close relations between the "constitutional" Leaguers and the Fenian skirmishers established by Davitt, and ratified by Mr. Parnell on his American tour, were carefully maintained. The "Kilmainham Treaty" was revealed in the debate of May 15, 1882. On June 24, Davitt, Mr. William Redmond, and Mr. William Dillon reached New York. On the 26th they addressed a great meeting. The Fords, John Walsh, and other notorious "extremists" were present, and Mrs. Parnell received Davitt with effusion. Davitt complained that Mr. Parnell had criticized his land policy unfairly, but he devoted his whole speech to assuring the audience that "there was no split in the party of any kind." Mr. William Redmond spoke to the same effect. On this occasion Davitt repudiated "outrage or assassination as a means of helping Ireland." Ten days later, he met the chiefs of the assassination party in conference at Astor-house. On Davitt's motion they resolved to form an Irish confederation with Mr. Parnell's assistance. The resolution was signed by M. Boland, Patrick Ford, and Alexander Sullivan, all notorious advocates and contrivers of murder, and by Dr. Wallace, of the "indignation meeting" of May, 1882, on behalf of the "Executive Committee of the Irish National Congress," by James Mooney and others for the American Land League, and by Davitt for the Irish Land League. (*Irish World*, July 22, 1882.) The body thus created held its first session at Philadelphia on April 25, 1883. All Mr. Parnell's chief officers attended. There were Treasurer Egan and Secretary Brennan, chief organizer Sheridan and chief

organizer Boyton. The last reached America on the second day of the proceedings, and immediately hastened to share the deliberations of his friends. There, too, were Frank Byrne, P. J., Sheridan's "fellow-celebrity" and ex-Secretary to the National League of Great Britain, John Walsh, most successful of organizers, against whom a true bill for murder had just been found, O'Donovan Rossa, the author of the Local Government Board explosion of the previous month, D. C. Feely and John Devoy, both leaders of the "Clan-na-Gael," John H. Parnell, and Mrs. Parnell. Mr. Parnell himself directly acknowledged this body as "the most representative convention of Irish-American opinion ever assembled" in a telegram to Mooney, its president, excused his own enforced absence, and urged caution on his associates. Egan and Sullivan "ran the machine" in the interests of the "constitutional movement," and from this congress of Fenians, murderers, and dynamiters the "Irish National League of America" arose. Alexander Sullivan was elected first President, and was only induced to take office by the special request of Treasurer Egan and Secretary Brennan. (*Irish World*, May 12, 1883.)

Mr. Sullivan's scruples were perhaps due to the fact that he holds a high position in the ranks of another patriotic association, which not even the most delirious partisanship can represent as "public, legal, or Parliamentary." Mr. Sullivan is well known to Scotland-yard as one of the three heads of the Irish-American murder club, called the "Clan-na-Gael." His colleagues are Colonel Michael Boland (who signed the resolution of July, 1882) and Mr. D. C. Feely (or, according to other authorities, General Michael Kerwin). The organization is ubiquitous in the United States; it commands the blind

obedience of many desperate fanatics ; it has ample funds, an admirable organization, and able chiefs. In the opinion of experts, the Clan-na-Gael planned and executed all the most diabolic of the dynamite outrages perpetrated in this country since the spring of 1883. To that society we owe "the explosions in our crowded streets, the attempted destruction of our public buildings," and the designs to murder Ministers in their places, on which Mr. Parnell lately dwelt with so much unction. And from the directorate of that society Mr. Parnell's colleagues chose the first President of the auxiliary League, on which Mr. Parnell's "constitutional movement" now lives.

The Executive Committee of the new organization met in August, 1883. Sullivan presided, and was assisted in his deliberations by Pat Egan and Mr. Matt Harris, M.P., then temporarily sojourning out of Lord Spencer's jurisdiction. (*Irish World*, August 11, 1883.) The next convention was held at Boston in August, 1884, and this time the "constitutionalists" were directly represented by Mr. Sexton, M.P., and Mr. Redmond, M.P. They had the satisfaction of seeing their old friend and accomplice, Pat Egan, of the Central Executive, chosen as the worthiest successor to the Clan-na-Gael chief in the dignified position of President of this "public, legal, and Parliamentary" association. Intestine quarrels, arising from Mr. Cleveland's election as President of the United States in 1884, made a general gathering inadvisable in 1885. The Executive sat in August, and summoned a convention for January, 1886. In December Mr. Harrington, by Mr. Parnell's direction, telegraphed a request that the meeting might be postponed. This was accordingly done by a circular of Egan's, in which he

quoted Mr. Parnell's testimony to the great value of the American League's subsidies during the general election of 1885—an election, brags Egan, which “placed the balance of power in the hands of” the Nationalists. (*United Ireland*, January 16, 1886.) The convention finally met at Chicago on the 19th of last August.

Before considering this last business meeting of Mr. Parnell's Transatlantic partners, we must turn our attention to another of their convivial gatherings. The supper given to Mr. Redmond by Mr. A. E. Ford, Mr. P. J. Sheridan, Mr. Edward J. Rowe, and others in November, 1882, has been already mentioned. “On Wednesday evening, May 6, 1885, the Phoenix Park anniversary,” says the *Irish World*, “one of the happiest Irish national reunions that has taken place in New York in some time, was held at the Sinclair-house, Broadway.” “The brilliant gathering of ladies and gentlemen” included P. Egan, John Walsh, Austin E. Ford (chairman), Robert E. Ford, Edward J. Rowe, Judge M'Carthy, and other members, past or present, of the “constitutional organization.” This, too, was a complimentary banquet, “to one who was an important, though most unpretending, actor in the event that is marked by the 6th of May.” The guest of the evening, in the words of Austin Ford, as he presented her with “a well-filled purse,” was “a brave little woman whose memorable courage in connexion with the victory in the Phoenix Park three years ago (prolonged applause) is known to us all.” The “brave little woman's” name was Mrs. Frank Byrne. Her part in the tragedy is not expressly stated. A woman brought the knives with which the secretaries were butchered, and Carey believed her to be Mrs. Frank Byrne. Possibly the “sister-in-law,” arrested with Mrs.

Byrne, and prematurely released by the English detectives, may have visited Dublin under that "refined and ladylike" person's name. (*Irish World*, April 7, 1883.) Byrne himself, her husband—the first to shake hands with Mr. Parnell at Willesden, the first to receive Davitt at Vauxhall, Mr. Justin M'Carthy's chief lieutenant, the brother-officer of Messrs. T. P. O'Connor, J. E. Redmond, and Quinn, M.P.'s—returned thanks for the blood-money, exulted in the foul slaughter for which his wife was paid, and avowed that he relied on "modern improvements" of the rifle for his country's liberation. John Walsh, the "chief organizer" of the British League, followed the secretary. Another speaker "honoured Joe Brady (one of the Park assassins) as the modern Coriolanus, who struck a great blow for liberty," and Mr. P. Egan moved the best thanks of the assembly "to Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, for his unswerving loyalty to the Irish cause." Davitt states, in his letter to the *Freeman's Journal* quoted above, that the *amoris redintegratio* between Ford and the Parnellites took place "a year or two ago" last May. Two years ago last May Ford had raised \$11,000 as an "emergency fund," "to aid the active forces on the other side in every practical mode of warfare for the recovery of Irish national independence, to stimulate to deeds of heroism, to punish informers, to reward heroes." A year ago last May he was chronicling the ghastly banquet to the Byrnes. A year ago last October Miss Ellen Ford, the gentle dispenser of Pat Egan's "Martyrs' Fund" for the encouragement of political murder, had issued circulars "requesting contributions to a testimonial for Mrs. Parnell." (*Irish World*, May 24, 1884, May 16, 1885, October 24. 1885.) The chief organizers of the

inhuman feast we have described, unsurpassed for cold-blooded ferocity in the annals of Christendom, reassembled at Chicago last August to mould the policy of Mr. Parnell's "constitutional movement."

Mr. Parnell's delegates, Messrs. John Redmond, M.P., John Deasy, M.P., and William O'Brien, ex-M.P., travelled West under the escort of General Michael Kerwin of the Clan-na-Gael murder-club, and the Fords. Finerty and Davitt, with another gang of dynamiters, came forth to welcome them. Sullivan, of the Clan-na-Gael, sat with Ford, Egan, Davitt, Mr. William O'Brien, and Mr. John Redmond in "privy council" the night before the convention met; and the Fenians and the dynamiters, the editor of *United Ireland* and the editor of the *Irish World*, the "father" of the Land League, the founder of the "Emergency Fund," the chief of the Clan-na-Gael, the ex-member and the member of the Imperial Parliament "were in thorough accord" when their secret session closed. (*Irish World*, September 4, 1886.) Ford had come to Chicago at Mr. Redmond's special request. The "Privy Council" commissioned him to assist Davitt and Mr. O'Brien in framing the resolutions, but he delegated his powers to the ex-convict. Rowe, the New York "emergency man," Kerwin, Feely, and Devoy, of the Clan-na-Gael, were among the delegates. A speech from ex-Treasurer Egan opened the proceedings. Finerty, Sullivan, Dr. Wallace, and ex-Secretary Brennan spoke later. Finerty and Sullivan, with the ex-Treasurer, had spoken before at Ogden Grove. They spoke again, surrounded by the "Clan-na-Gael Guards," with the members of the Imperial Parliament at "Battery D." At Ogden Grove, Finerty declared that whatever Parliament might do for Ireland,

"they, too (the Irish-Americans), had a long and a terrible account to settle with England." "Let the Irish in Ireland," he added amid applause, "pursue if they choose their paths of peace, but if they (the American-Irish) could do anything to injure England, to annoy England, to keep her awake o' nights, they would and they ought to do it." Mr. Finerty went on to praise "the sword of the insurgent" and "the poniard of the assassin." With a blasphemous allusion, he begged the "constitutional leaders" "not to be apologizing for their relations with the American-Irish in the house of their common enemy," while he generously pardoned their past frailty. And even at Ogden Grove the "constitutional movement" was not unrepresented. Patrick Egan congratulated the meeting on their "good sense and unity," and Michael Davitt, the regular mediator between the Fenians and the "constitutionalists," strained his influence to moderate the ill-timed frankness of the orators. He deprecated a policy of unprofitable revenge, and enlarged upon the advantages of a system which had all but "made some of the ex-suspects the practical rulers of Ireland." He showed, too, what kind of help the English Government would get from such an Executive in baffling the future agents of Finerty's vindictive justice. Davitt himself believed dynamite to be unnecessary, "but he found no fault with Mr. Finerty or Mr. Sullivan for the sentiments they expressed." (*Irish World*, August 28, 1886.) Neither would the ex-suspects installed in Dublin Castle. They might agree with Davitt in judging further massacres inexpedient. They would surely agree with him in thinking that "if men here in America choose to resort to retaliation for the wrongs inflicted upon them and their country, we cannot be to blame. It is

England that is to blame." (*Irish World*, August 28.) They might be neutral; but their neutrality would savour of benevolence, and the benevolence would incline towards the "better men" despatched from Chicago or New York.

Three of the Ogden Grove orators sat on Mr. John Redmond's "privy council." All of them accepted the common "platform" propounded by that body and ratified by all the "constitutional" ambassadors. But they did not accept it as final. As Finerty with happy humour phrased it beforehand, "the Irish-American Nationalists wanted both Davitt and Parnell to be Oliver Twists in British politics—let them take all they could get, and keep right along asking for more;" and Davitt showed his aptitude for the part by declaring that "there is no finality in human progress, nor can limits be arbitrarily set to the onward march of a nation." (*Irish World*, August 28.) Precisely the same sentiment has been repeatedly expressed by the "constitutional leader" himself in almost identical terms. (See Mr. Parnell's speeches at Cork, London, Wicklow, and Castlebar, on January 21, March 17, October 5, and November 3, 1885.) The hollow compromise, however, served its turn. The "appearance of union," about which Mr. Redmond, M.P., expressed such solicitude to Ford, was maintained, and all sections of the party, from dynamiters to "constitutionalist" M.P.'s, mustered at "Battery D" the night after the convention. The proceedings were remarkable. Davitt explained the secret of the conspirators' success in a speech of great frankness and ability. Former insurrections in Ireland had exclusively relied on Irish national sentiment. "But Irish national sentiment had not succeeded

in winning Irish liberty. Recently they had added the power found in the desire of a people to improve them (*sic*) socially. They had to combine the whole Irish race at home and abroad in one vast movement. . . . They had to strike at and cripple the power of Irish landlordism—England's territorial garrison in Ireland—before they could call into the field of action the full force of Irish manhood and Irish national sentiment." The march, to reiterate Mr. Gladstone's felicitous phrase, lies "through rapine to dismemberment," and the distinctive characteristics of the League movement, which have made it vigorous and progressive where all preceding agitations have been fitful and weak, are its Jacobin appeal to agrarian greed at home, and its direct invocation of Irish-American race-hatred abroad—that hatred which, as Mr. Finerty admits, no English concessions can abate. Sullivan and Mr. William O'Brien also spoke, but the most interesting item in the programme was the presentation of a service of plate to Pat Egan, the fugitive Treasurer of the League, the man who hinted to the "Invincibles" that "talk" would never open the gates of Kilmainham. The testimonial came from a few of Mr. Egan's "friends and admirers in Ireland as a slight mark of their respect and esteem for his devotedness and courage." Among them were Messrs. Parnell, Justin M'Carthy, Sexton, Dillon, Biggar, Dawson, Dwyer Gray, and William O'Brien. When the ex-Treasurer had thanked "his dear friend" Davitt, and his "old fellow workers in the National ranks," the ex-Secretary Brennan (who shared Egan's views about the inefficacy of "talk") read a telegram from Mr. Parnell, thanking the convention and declaring that "the ratification of our policy and action, the order, union, and moderation of the proceedings

nave created a profound impression here, and add great strength to our position." (*Irish World*, August 28, 1886.)

Such was the course and such the termination of the last representative gathering of Mr. Parnell's American partners. With Davitt's help, the constitutional mission accomplished its objects. The Fenians acquiesced in the continuance of the alliance, without exacting any public and explicit approbation of dynamite and "scientific warfare." They were content that their methods of attaining the "ultimate goal" should not be denounced or disavowed. Mr. Parnell's English followers could lull their consciences by the audacious fiction that the Clan-na-Gael had accepted some fancy proposal for "the better government of Ireland" in satisfaction of their demands, and were ready unfeignedly to abjure knives and bullets, Atlas-powder and petroleum for the future. Above all, the great end of Parnellite diplomacy was achieved. The paper, "condemned by eight Bishops" in 1880, continued its services "as a medium for subscriptions," and Ford begged for dollars in aid of "the public, legal, Parliamentary struggle," almost as sturdily as for the "Martyrs' Fund," for the fund in memory of "the Irish Coriolanus, Joe Brady," or for the "Emergency Fund" to "lay London, Liverpool, and Manchester in ashes." Superficial thinkers might perhaps fancy Ford's conduct inconsistent. He justifies it at length in the very article in which he vaunts his "loyalty to Parnell," his varied and recent services to the Parliamentary party, and the tokens of esteem and gratitude for those services lavished on him by Mr. Parnell's authorized agents at Chicago. Ford positively states that he has not renounced murder. He "stands by all he has ever said" on "this gospel of dynamite," and by a monstrous perversion

of reason and of conscience he seeks to vindicate his devilish creed on grounds of morality and positive religion. He is "ready to roll up his sleeves and co-operate with Parnell heartily." But should Mr. Parnell fail, his "privy councillor" and chief collector across the Atlantic will resort to "another policy and other methods now in abeyance," and "prosecute them with vigour" till the war closes in the attainment of Mr. Parnell's "ultimate goal." (*Irish World*, Sept. 4, 1886.)

The "other methods" were no longer in absolute abeyance a month later, although the fervour of Ford's "loyalty to Parnell" was undecayed. Mr. Justin M'Carthy, the vice-president of the League, visited New York in the last week of September. He was received at the ship's side by P. B. Egan, "Mr. Robert and Mr. A. E. Ford, representing Mr. Patrick Ford, the chairman of the committee of arrangements." They were the men who had feasted Frank Byrne and fee'd his wife 18 months before for their part in the Phoenix Park murders. The same number of Ford's "great paper" (October 2) contains a fulsome account of Mr. M'Carthy's welcome; Mr. Parnell's appeal to the American League "to frustrate the attempt of those who would assassinate our nation," and to succour the "victims of the social war which has been preached by the rich and powerful Government of England against our people;" a direct incitement to murder the Irish police, a furious denunciation of an eminent Irish Judge, and this devilish exhortation from Mr. Parnell's first subscriber, "Trans-Atlantic":—

"THE IRISH RACE ALL OVER THE WORLD are hereby summoned to action! England is about to support those heartless land-robbers with her police, her army, her generals, and her treasure. Her greatest treasures—namely, her ships of com-

merce, are floating on the high seas. These shall be our prizes. These shall be our ransom until she hauls off from our kith and kin those infernal devils, the land-robbers, the police, and her demoralizing soldiery. To arms, then, my countrymen all over the earth." Perhaps the vice-president of "the constitutional organization" did not read his host's newspaper, or his first subscriber's commendations of piracy. The next week he was lecturing, under Ford's auspices, on "the cause of Ireland." His audience comprised all sorts and conditions of patriots, from Roman Catholic Bishops to O'Meagher Condon the Fenian, and Michael Boland and General Michael Kerwin, two of the leading members of the Clan-na-Gael. The vice-president showed his tact under circumstances so embarrassing. He assured the one section that "this constitutional agitation is very near a final and complete success." He won "tremendous applause" from the other by the dexterous confession that "he knew and admitted that if they (the 'constitutionalists') could not show something like speedy results, constitutional agitation could not be maintained for ever against the forces of opposing conditions." (*Irish World*, October 9, 1886.) Only a few weeks back we have a distinct acknowledgment that the supplies were still coming in. All the "constitutionalists" are not so unmindful of absent benefactors as Mr. Healy, and Mr. John Stack, M.P., lately admonished a half-hearted audience at Ballyduff that "they should give value for the dollars that were sent to them from America." (*Freeman's Journal*, January 11, 1887.)

On January 23 of the present year, Ford organized another meeting to honour patriotism of a robuster stamp. This time Michael Davitt was the chief speaker, and his

statements, as usual, deserve careful consideration. They were in a bolder strain than those delivered before the "constitutional organization" at Chicago. Influenced, as he explained, "by politic and not by personal motives," his voice is still for peace. "No one knows better," he said, "than our chairman, Patrick Ford (great cheering), how persistently I have striven during the last few years to keep the Irish struggle within the bounds of constitutional effort, and free from the more determined policy which he and thousands of other Irish Nationalists in America honestly believed to be the only means of coercing England into justice. . . . I believed and still believe it to be unwise to resort to the use of undisciplined force against disciplined power. . . . I have also been averse to methods of reckless retaliation, even though they might offer an opportunity to Irish Nationalists of imitating the act of the captive Judge of Israel ; because deserving though such a retribution might be for England's crimes against Ireland and justice, a Samsonian policy of revenge is at best but suicidal." Nevertheless the ex-convict warns the Queen's Government that if the people are once convinced that the Executive are bent on "extermination"—in other words, that they mean to enforce the Queen's writ—"not all the influence of all the Irish leaders in the world will ever suffice to prevent some supreme act of retaliation which a maddened people may be driven in despair to contemplate. (Deafening cheers, again and again renewed.)" If coercion be attempted, "thousands of men," the orator continued, "will feel called upon—nay, compelled—by their manhood, their consciences, and their pledges to the sacred cause of Irish liberty, to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, to show the

world by one supreme act of desperation that, mighty as England's power may be, there are means by which justice can be vindicated and outraged rights avenged, even against a culprit so great as the Government of the British Empire. (The cheering at this point lasted fully four minutes, and the scene would beggar description.)" (*Irish World*, January 29, 1887).

That was Davitt's last word to the American wing of the "constitutional movement." He had been in Pat Egan's company a few days before. He was escorted to the Alaska by the Ford family, and bore away with him precious tokens of the solidarity that subsists between the foreign and the domestic copartners in "the public, legal, and Parliamentary struggle." They were two costly albums containing a variety of old newspaper articles on the abortive Home Rule Bill of last year, and "the whole of the letters on the Irish question addressed to the *Irish World* in 1886 by the Senators, Congressmen, and other leading public men of the United States." The one volume was dedicated "To the Right Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone," the other "To Charles S. Parnell, Esq., M.P.," "with the compliments of the Irish National League of America. Patrick Egan, President."* We are unable to say whether Davitt has yet fulfilled his mission, and presented these "unique productions" to the consignees. Ford, at all events, feels "quite sure that the gentlemen for whom they are intended will highly value these appropriate and splendidly executed gifts." (*Irish World*, January 22, 1887.)

We suspend our studies of Parnellism. They do not affect to be complete. They are made on a cursory examination of a small portion of the pub-

*See Note B, page 56—Mr. Patrick Egan.

lished evidence. They have, however, revealed nearly all the chief members of the first Home Rule Ministry—Mr. Parnell himself, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Healy, Mr. Biggar, the Messrs. Redmond, Mr. William O'Brien, and Davitt—in trade and traffic with avowed dynamiters and known contrivers of murder. Ample materials for a fuller treatment exist in the files of Irish, American, and English newspapers. But there is also other evidence, hitherto unpublished. As Lord Spencer told the Ulster loyalists on Waterloo Day, the year before he deserted them, "We have yet to deal with crime undiscovered, secret conspiracy, and threads which must be unravelled." When the clue may be quite unwound, or whither it may guide us, none can tell. But the revelation will be sudden, and it may take us far.

NOTE B.—MR. PATRICK EGAN.—Egan has played a leading part all through the conspiracy. All the chief "constitutionalists," as we have seen, profess themselves "friends and admirers" of their "old fellow-worker's devotedness and courage." We append some additional information about Mr. Egan from *United Ireland*, the newspaper he helped to found. The Invincibles were organized at the end of October, or the beginning of November, 1881. An "interview" with Mr. Parnell's treasurer was telegraphed to the *New York World* on October 21, and reproduced in *United Ireland* of November 5, 1881. Mr. Egan "hinted" to the reporter "that ere long an important Irish movement would be heard of in America." He declined to "tell exactly" its nature. "All Irish parties," he stated, "will be united now. By declaring the League illegal the English Govern-

ment has cut the constitutional ground for agitation from under our feet. We shall now be compelled to have recourse to other action. No appeal to arms is intended." Egan, it will be remembered, was at this time in correspondence with Carey. Three of his letters were found in a box in Carey's house. One of them expressed Mr. Egan's hope that Carey would succeed with "the business in hand." (*United Ireland*, March 17, 1883.) Mr. Egan's traducers suggested that "the business in hand" was the organization of the Invincibles, on which Carey, by his own confession, was at this period engaged. Their theory receives some confirmation from a passage in the next issue of Mr. Parnell's official organ. When the American reporters found Egan discussing the Local Government Board explosion "with Mr. Sheridan, John Devoy, and other Irish leaders," somebody repeated a rumour "that Mullet had turned informer." "I know Mullet personally," answered Egan, "as a man of sound business principles and integrity of character. I do not believe he has turned informer." (*United Ireland*, March 24, 1883.) It was sworn that both the Mullets were Invincibles.

(THE TIMES, MARCH 18, 1887.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Since the publication of your last article on "Parnellism and Crime," fresh evidence has reached us of the true source and significance of American contributions "in aid of the Irish cause." The *entente cordiale* re-established at Chicago between the dynamiters and the "constitutionalists" continues. Within the last fortnight Ford has again made public profession of his faith in Mr. Parnell. This man, who lives by

advocating murder, tells us that he "recognizes Mr. Parnell as the leader of the Irish movement both in and out of Parliament, and cheerfully gives him and the movement all the support in his power." To that leader he has "never desired or attempted to dictate." He reserves, indeed, the right of private judgment and of free discussion for the *Irish World*, but he is "ever ready to subordinate its judgment to the decisions of the leader and his colleagues." He is eager to be used once more "as a medium for subscriptions;" for in the purse lies the secret of his power, and through the purse he knows his power is secure. With demure pride he assures us that "Mr. Parnell has never rejected any of the subscriptions from America, though unquestionably they have all been contributed by people of violent anti-English sentiment. The men and women of Irish and other nationalities who subscribed the hundreds of thousands of dollars sent across the ocean by the *Irish World* were all vigorous in their abhorrence of landlordism and British rule in Ireland, and we are confident," Mr. John Redmond's "Privy Councillor" proclaims, "that Mr. Parnell and his party very much admire that sort of violence."

Ford reasons with perfect logic to the future from the past. "Mr. Parnell," he says, "will continue to welcome aid for the movement he leads from whatever quarter it may come, and the anti-English element in America, which is a very numerous and powerful one, will continue to sustain that movement by voice and purse." (*Irish World*, March 5, 1887).

The American subscriptions are a tribute of anti-English hate, collected for the most part by a professional advocate and champion of murder with the knowledge and approbation of the "constitu-

tionalists." How long shall we suffer the recipients of those subsidies—the men sustained by the voice of the *Irish World* and the purse of "the anti-English element in America"—to mock our laws and debase our Parliament?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Patrick's Day. WEST BRITON.

(LEADING ARTICLE, THE TIMES, MARCH 18, 1887.)

The House of Commons, both in its corporate capacity and in the persons of those among its members who are leaders of political opinion in the country, has in its charge the honour of English public life. We cannot believe that the House will allow any section of its members to treat with an affectation of indifference such statements as those deliberately advanced and supported by detailed evidence in the articles we have recently printed on "Parnellism and Crime." It is not for us to say in what manner Parliament should act, but we have no hesitation in affirming that the responsibility cannot be evaded by silently ignoring charges of the utmost gravity brought forward in the columns of *The Times* and without the shelter of Parliamentary or any other privilege. There is a special duty incumbent upon MR. GLADSTONE, upon his principal colleagues, and upon the non-official Liberals of weight and standing who are now brigaded with MR. PARNELL's following. Either they believe the statements made in the articles to which we refer and which we have republished in pamphlet form, or they regard them as calumnies. The former hypothesis and the inferences that must be drawn from it we will not for the present discuss. If, however, in spite of the testimony collected almost exclusively from sources

favourable to MR. PARNELL and his cause, the Gladstonians choose to believe that the Parnellite leaders are slandered men, they are bound to vindicate that tremendous act of faith by urging and, if necessary, compelling the accused to seek redress from the slanderers. Otherwise, the sceptical world will entirely decline to credit an exculpation which is required in the interests of the Gladstonians even more than in that of the Parnellites themselves. Are MR. GLADSTONE and his associates prepared to continue to work for common objects with politicians confederated with and subsidized by the authors of dynamite conspiracies and murderous outrages? Are they prepared to join hands with the men who have been the guests and intimates of FORD and EGAN, and who are to this hour receiving the subscriptions collected by the *Irish World*, in resisting measures for restoring law and order in Ireland? Can they persist in telling English and Scotch Liberals that it is safe and honourable to surrender the government of Ireland to the allies and instruments of the anti-British plotters in the United States? If they are not ready to stew in this Parnellite juice, to quote once more SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT's emphatic language, they must be eager to secure the vindication of their present confederates and the proof that their own blind confidence is not a deliberate self-deception. For our own part, we are perfectly ready, if challenged, to establish the statements we have published. But no challenge has escaped from MR. PARNELL's prudently sealed lips, and his subordinates have evidently received orders to maintain a rigorous silence.

We printed the first of the articles on Parnellism and Crime on the 7th inst., and the last on the

14th inst. We have not yet learned that any one of the personages incriminated is about to institute legal proceedings against us, though if our charges could be shown to be unfounded and not for the public benefit, we presume MR. PARNELL and his friends might ask for heavy damages. What is still more significant, however, is the fact that neither MR. PARNELL, nor MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, nor MR. SEXTON, nor MR. O'BRIEN, nor any other of the patriots mentioned by name as consorting with FORD and EGAN and the rest, has ventured to impugn the accuracy of what has been stated in these columns as to their relations with the enemies of England in the United States. They have written no letters, they have made no speeches contradicting the charges we have founded upon their Transatlantic organ, the *Irish World*, and their journals in Ireland have been obviously instructed to avoid controversy on a subject so delicate. Of course, we know why MR. PARNELL and his followers pretend to be indifferent to charges constituting in the aggregate the most formidable indictment brought in modern times against any body of public men. MR. PARNELL could not, if he would, disentangle himself from his connexion with FORD and the gang of scoundrels who celebrate the anniversary of the Phoenix Park atrocity with feasting and speech-making, who coolly propose and collect money for schemes of wholesale murder, rapine, and piracy, and who mark out for assassination loyal officials and high-minded statesmen. It is FORD and his associates who fill the coffers of the League, and whose influence is felt in the crime which, according to MR. GLADSTONE, dogs the steps of that "constitutional organization." The only attempt made to meet the statements advanced in our columns has been to dismiss them, without entering into particulars, as

“old” and “stale,” but, as our correspondent “WEST BRITON” shows in a letter we print elsewhere, FORD is still backing MR. PARNELL (who, he assures us, “has never rejected any of the subscriptions from America”), and is still subsidizing the League. But he has not on that account ceased to be the apostle of the “gospel of dynamite,” and the publisher of the inhuman ravings of “TRANSATLANTIC.” Those who have not only been patronized and paid by FORD, but who have co-operated with him, as our articles have shown, throughout the “campaign” of the last eight years, cannot obliterate the past. What is more, they have never taken one step to show that for the future they wish to enter on a new path and to emancipate themselves from a degrading and mercenary bondage. We must deal with the leaders of the Irish agitation as the fellow-workers of FORD and EGAN and SHERIDAN, and as such we say that they cannot be cleared of moral complicity, at any rate, in the crimes prompted and paid for by their allies beyond the Atlantic. It is notorious, indeed, that to outrage and terrorism the League owes its ascendancy in Ireland, and the Parnellites their political power and Parliamentary influence. It is a scandal to representative government that this should be so, and that men who have organized lawlessness for their own profit should be able to boast, as MR. DILLON boasted a few days ago, that they will trample on the law and reduce its officers to humiliating subjection. But the acme of disgrace will be reached if the men whose record we have published, attested by their infamous associates, should be able to combine in opposition to the measures for maintaining the authority of the QUEEN’S Courts and to find allies in so doing among the chiefs of the Liberal party.

Must we, then, assume that as MR. PARNELL cannot shake himself loose from FORD and EGAN, so MR. GLADSTONE is unable to separate himself from MR. PARNELL? That is a question on which MR. GLADSTONE'S recent utterances, including his speech at MR. BARRAN'S yesterday, throw little light. We do not assume that when he resolved to grant MR. PARNELL'S demands he was acquainted with the close and continuous relations between MR. PARNELL'S party and their Irish-American paymasters, though if he was ignorant of those facts he cannot stand excused. But now, when the truth has been exposed, if not yet, indeed, completely, still, for our present purpose, sufficiently, is MR. GLADSTONE prepared to keep up his strict alliance in Parliament and in the constituencies with the allies of FORD? Whatever may be MR. GLADSTONE'S decision, we find it difficult to believe that the whole of the Gladstonian party can acquiesce, with knowledge of the facts, in a shameful association. Even SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT'S "flexibility of "adaptation" must be tried by so close a contact with the former objects of his vigorous invective. MR. JOHN MORLEY, it is true, has learned in his studies of the French Revolution the philosophic secret of "sombre acquiescence" in the painful incidents of violent popular movements. But both on the front Opposition bench and among the independent Gladstonian members on the Liberal side there are still many who must recoil from the knowledge that they are now expected to fight a desperate battle against the restoration of social order in Ireland side by side with the men who have clasped hands with the preachers of the gospel of dynamite and are at present taking their pay. What do experienced officials, clear-headed lawyers, shrewd men of business, or

public-spirited country gentlemen think of this connexion and all that it involves ? We care not how "advanced" a man's opinions may be, he cannot, if he is true to the traditions of English public life, accept an alliance so humiliating. If the Parnellites allow judgment to go against them by default, we may appeal with confidence to such men as MR. CHILDERS, MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, MR. WHITBREAD, MR. HENRY FOWLER, MR. MUNDELLA, SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, MR. DILLWYN, MR. BRYCE, SIR BERNHARD SAMUELSON, SIR JOSEPH PEASE, SIR CHARLES FORSTER, and many others not to remain silent. If they are induced to do so by any hope of party advantage, they will, we are sure, discover that they have committed a grave and irreparable error. The people of this kingdom will not pardon the perversity of faction which, by acts committed or omitted, drags down the honour of Parliament into the mire.

(THE TIMES, MARCH 24, 1887.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—In the remarkable articles which have lately appeared in *The Times* upon the above subject, and to which public attention has been, I trust, riveted by your leading article on Friday last, no reference was made, as well as I remember, to a document which proves conclusively that Mr. Parnell was in direct political connexion with three of the most infamous of the gang of murderers known as the Invincibles.

I allude to the "Address of the people of Dublin to Messrs. Charles M'Carthy, Thomas Chambers, John Patrick O'Brien, and Michael Davitt on their release from imprisonment suffered for Ireland."

This address will be found printed at length on pages 334 and 335 of a book entitled "Ireland of To-day : the Causes and Aims of Irish Agitation," by M. F. Sullivan, with an introduction by Thomas Power O'Connor, M.P., published in Philadelphia by J. M. Stoddart and Co., 1881, and thus concludes :—

"Signed on behalf of Reception Committee—Charles S. Parnell, M.P., J. G. Biggar, M.P., John O'Sullivan, John Dillon, J. Taaffe, Patrick Egan, treasurer, *James Carey*, hon. secretary, Thomas Brennan; John Burns, Robert Woodward, R. J. Donnelly, *Daniel Curley*, Edmund Hayes, *J. Brady*."

I have italicized those names with which, owing to this connexion, Mr. Parnell's name will be for ever associated, and I am tempted to ask whether Mr. Gladstone could have been aware of this document when he elected to hand over the Loyalists of this country to the tender mercies of a man with such a record and such a following; or whether at that time his readings in Irish history, of which he has been since so industrious and accurate a student, had not extended so far. But, however this may be, I can hardly believe that Lord Spencer was not aware of the *personal* relations which had existed between Mr. Parnell and that precious crew, though I can well believe that, owing to the exigencies of the Kilmainham Treaty, he was not anxious to know more than he could possibly help.

I am, Sir, &c.,
Kildare-street Club, Dublin, March 20.

X.

(THE TIMES, MARCH 26, 1887.)
TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Allow me to add to your masterly articles on "Parnellism and Crime" yet another fact proving how deeply

connected Mr. Parnell himself was with the Invincibles. Mr. Frank Byrne, it is admitted, was secretary to the Irish Parliamentary party, and was on intimate relations with the leaders of that party, taking his instructions from them at their offices in Palace-chambers, Bridge-street, Westminster.

It is now matter of history how this Frank Byrne fled the country and after his arrival in America was feasted by Ford and Co. His last exploit is a letter, dated February 22, 1887, from Meriden, Connecticut, addressed to the editor of the *New York Catholic Herald*. After denouncing all Parliamentary agitation as useless, he states :—

“ It would be well for the Irish peasantry if, instead of weakly bemoaning their unfortunate lot, they would at last rise to the level of men, and as men protect their lives and property. One evicting landlord killed in Ireland, or wherever he may be found, would do more to settle the Irish land question than all the speeches in and out of Parliament which could be delivered from this to doomsday. The evicting Irish landlord is a murderer and a robber, and should have the fate of the murderer and robber meted out to him. . . .

“ Home Rule ! Yes, Mr. Gladstone did introduce a measure which was to give a miserable farce under that name to Ireland. Home Rule without control of the military ; Home Rule without control of the police ; Home Rule without control of the Customs ; Home Rule without any powers of self-government whatever ; and even for this abortion the Irish people, or a section of them, would have been thankful. And what was the result ? The English working man, the friend (?) of Ireland, defeated Mr. Gladstone at the hustings. . . .

“ And we still go on talking. I sometimes think that there is no such thing as Irish patriotism, but that a few men are labouring to convince the world that there is. If there is any practical Irish patriotism the time has come to show it. Let the insolent demand of De Lisle that Archbishop Croke be tried for high treason be answered at once, and in such a way that the world will no longer doubt the existence of Irish patriotism and Irish self-sacrifice. Let Salisbury learn that the Irish race in England and Ireland has forces at its disposal of a character not to be despised, and which it can and will use to Eng-

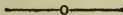
land's destruction. No sentimental bosh should be allowed to tie our hands. The torch, the knife, and dynamite are weapons which are at the disposal ever of an unarmed and poverty-stricken nation like ours. England has taken good care to deprive us of all other weapons, and, in God's name, let us use those we have at once, without hesitation and without mercy. If we fail to thus act we are unworthy of freedom, are only filling our allotted place in the world's great economic system as contented slaves, and should hold our peace for ever."

Such, then, are the words and sentiments of Mr. Parnell's *quondam* private secretary, now freed from the obligation of concealing his opinions. O'Donovan Rossa, in his paper, the *United Irishman*, March 12, quotes the above letter with approval, and describes the writer as "one of the Invincible Irishmen who had to go on the run a few years ago because some of the English garrison were slain in Ireland."

I am yours faithfully,

March 23,

PHILIP H. BAGENAL.



LONDON :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GEORGE EDWARD WRIGHT,
AT THE TIMES OFFICE. PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE.

